Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 /096 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2960

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, US, UN, SR, WA

SUBJECT: UNSC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. US, UK, FRANCE, FRG AND CANADA MET AT WORKING LEVEL DURING SC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA MORNING OF MARCH 28 TO DISCUSS DEMARCHE TO BE MADE TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT BY GROUP OF FIVE. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO SUGGEST TO CAPITALS THE FOLLOWING: THE DEMARCHE SHOULD BE PRESENTED IN PRETORIA OR CAPETOWN BY THE FIVE RESIDENT AMBASSADORS; CONFIDENTIAL

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IT SHOULD BE IN FORM OF FIVE DOCUMENTS, EACH ONE IDENTICAL EXCEPT FOR THE SIGNATURES OF THE RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS; IT SHOULD BE MADE REGARDLESS OF OUTCOME OF SC DEBATE; IT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO PRIME MINISTER VORSTER RATHER THAN FON MIN BOTHA; IT SHOULD BE MADE AFTER SC DEBATE IS FINISHED, BUT PRIOR TO VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA BY UK FON MIN ON APRIL 13; THUS PRESENTATION SHOULD BE EARLY

NEXT WEEK (IT WAS BELIEVED THAT PRESENTATION TO SAG BEFORE END OF DEBATE WOULD SERIOUSLY DAMAGE GROUP'S TACTICAL POSITION IN PUSHING FOR DECLARATION IN LIEU OF AFRICAN GROUP RESOLUTIONS); DEMARCHE SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY ORAL PRESENTATION THAT WESTERN GROUP WOULD WELCOME FURTHER COLLECTIVE CONTACTS WITH SAG IN CAPETOWN CONCERNING QUESTION OF NAMIBIA; DEMARCHE SHOULD BE MADE CONCURRENTLY IN CAPITALS TO SAG AMBASSADORS; AND AMBASSADORS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS "CONTACT GROUP" IN GENERAL TERMS WITH SAG AT TIME OF PRESENTATION.

- 2. FRG EXPRESSED RELUCTANCE TO TAKE LEAD IN CONTACT GROUP, CITING PARTICULAR POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF FRG GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH SAG AND TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES IN SETTING UP ENGLISH LANGUAGE SECRETARIAT-TYPE SERVICES FOR CONTACT GROUP IN PRETORIA OR CAPETOWN.
- 3. REFERRING TO POSSIBILITY THAT AFRICAN GROUP WILL REJECT DECLARATION, CANADA SAID THAT IT WOULD HAVE TO REEXAMINE DECLARATION BEFORE IT COULD JOIN OTHER WESTERN NATIONS IN ISSUING IT AS GROUP OF FIVE POSITION PAPER.
- 4. IT WAS AGREED THAT THERE WAS NEED FOR MEETINGS IN NY TO DISCUSS CONTACT GROUP MORE SPECIFICALLY. SEVERAL STAGES WERE VISUALIZED: IN THE FUTURE WESTERN GROUP DEALINGS WITH SAG (1) DEMARCHE; (2) EXPLORATORY TALKS TO SEE WHAT DIRECTION FUTURE TALKS WOULD TAKE (THESE WOULD NOT BE CALLED "EXPLORATORY" IN PUBLIC); THESE WOULD BE ATTENDED BY FAIRLY HIGH OFFICIALS FROM CAPITALS AND CONFIDENTIAL.

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EMBASSY REPS, AND LEAD QUICKLY TO (3) CONTACT GROUPS, WHICH WOULD MOVE INTO SUBSTANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS. IF THESE THREE STEPS WERE SUCCESSFUL, THE WORKING LEVEL GROUP THOUGHT THAT UN PERM REPS COULD ASSIST IN FINALIZING AGREEMENTS; IF THE INITIAL STEPS WERE UNSUCCESSFUL, THE PERM REPS MIGHT BE BROUGHT INTO PLAY TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON THE SAG. FINALLY, THE FIVE FON MINS MIGHT JOIN IN SOME ACTION.

- 5. UK BROUGHT UP NEED TO DISCUSS IN NEAR FUTURE WESTERN REACTION TO TURNHALLE AND "INTERIM" GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA.
- 6. AFRICAN GROUP IS MEETING AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF MARCH 28 TO PUT TOGETHER "COUNTER PROPOSAL" TO WESTERN GROUP. THEY WILL CIRCULATE IT TO NON-ALIGNED AM MARCH 29. AT AMB YOUNG'S SUGGESTION, WESTERN AND AFRICAN MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, PAKISTAN, INDIA, AMB SALIM OF TANZANIA AND AMB HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA WILL MEET INFORMALLY AT 5:30 PM, MARCH 29, AT USUN TO DISCUSS THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS.

- 7. FOLLOWING IS FINAL TEXT OF GROUP OF FIVE DEMARCHE AS AGREED IN NEW YORK: OUOTE
- A. THE GOVERNMENTS OF FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES, IN VIEW OF THEIR SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HAVE JOINTLY REVIEWED THE PROBLEM OF NAMIBIA.
- B. THE GOVERNMENTS ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AND AGREE THAT PROGRESS IS URGENTLY REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.
- C. THE GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE DOES NOT MEET THE STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AND ONLY A FINAL SETTLEMENT WHICH IS BASED UPON THE CONDITIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 CAN OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE.

 D. THE CONDITIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA ARE CONTAINED CONFIDENTIAL.

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IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. THESE CONDITIONS INCLUDE AN EARLY EXERCISE BY ALL THE INHABITANTS OF NAMIBIA OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION THROUGH A FULLY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE PEACEFUL PARTICIPATION OF ALL POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING SWAPO, IN THIS PROCESS. THE RESOLUTION ALSO CALLS FOR AN END TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE RETURN TO THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIANS LIVING IN EXILE. E. THE GOVERNMENTS WISH TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF EARLY SOUTH AFRICAN AGREEMENT TO PURSUE A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL MEET THE FOREGOING PRINCIPLES AND BE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE, THE GOVERNMENTS WILL BE OBLIGED TO RECONSIDER THEIR PREVIOUS POSITIONS REGARDING PROPOSALS FOR STERN ACTION BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILL BE COMPELLED TO EXAMINE A NEW RANGE OF MEASURES INTENDED TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN COMPLIANCE WITH APPLICABLE RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL CONCERNING NAMIBIA.

- F. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE GOVERNMENTS THAT INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES CONTINUE TO BE THE BEST WAY TO BRING THE PARTIES TO AN AGREEMENT ON HOW THE PROCESS TO INDEPENDENCE SHOULD PROCEED.
- G. THE GOVERNMENTS NOTE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, TOO, SEES VIRTUE IN CONTINUED DISCUSSIONS. THE GOVERNMENTS WISH TO HAVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON HOW THE CONDITIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT WILL BE MET. THE GOVERNMENT'S REQUEST AN EARLY RESPONSE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.
- H. THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOTED THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S REFERENCE TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL IN ITS RESPONSE TO THE NINE COUNTRIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND

WOULD WELCOME THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON HOW HIS
GOOD OFFICES COULD BE USED IN WORKING TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT.
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